/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
596 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

[17a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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621 might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
621 of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

[17c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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592 their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

4:Mickey E-6.(1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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Types of Families

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

[17e]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

men of the family — his son, the nephews, and their sons — and his own daughters had free access to his rooms. The second wife was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen, was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and eat.

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, but attractive when he willed to be. 855

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died. 596

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1967 AE5 Miao AE5

villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (汪) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 596 During the time of my first visit I was invited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight. [515 574] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing, at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 353 When I arrived there were on the steps leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larget of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.[8]

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilinial.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.[9]

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, gandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and umarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

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8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron pot or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no

39: Bernatzik--43 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/30/ Chapter 5

Social Organization

a) Organization of the Family

A M 596 618 [611] Among the Meau as well as among the Akha, the family is organized strictly by father right. No esteem even similar to the consideration enjoyed by the parents is shown toward any other relative. In accordance with the organization by father right, descent is reckoned in the male line, and married women belong absolutely to the family of their husband, if he is already independent, or otherwise to the family of the father-in-law.

A M [614] M [775] The extent to which wives are absorbed in the new family group is shown by the fact that the married woman among the Meau not only loses every connection with the sib /Sippe/ from which she is descended, which is also the custom among the Akha, but also, after her death, her soul arises anew in the next child of her husband's family (cf. the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 596 618 [591] Adult unmarried sons always remain with their father; even married sons do not at first establish an independent family, but are regarded among the Meau as belonging, along with their wives and children, to the family of the father until they have completed their thirtieth year. Accordingly, they live in the paternal home up to this time, even though in a separate area, with their wives and children, and do not manage an independent household. Not until they have reached the aforementioned age do they have a right to build themselves a house and to establish an independent family.

M 593 618 /31/ According to Dhuraratsadorn (1), the Meau never part from their sons, even if the latter are married. As my remarks show, this statement can be regarded as correct only

1. Page 167.

c) Family Units

AM 614 [764] Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

AM 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

AM [769] [756] It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

A M 596 756 /35 cont./ outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A M 571 114 614 Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organizations are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans. Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M 592 [736] Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves. In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and M [842] strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as M [737] possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

/76 cont./

A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

/77 cont./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a M 596 large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the M [614] [736] sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

A M 855 596 M [595] A [603] Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year-old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

A M 868 The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, P469 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P470 - "]

/104/

114 184 595 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsadorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 614 [596] Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role; the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 584 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. [533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

/115 cont./

A 586 .837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 588 [594] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [202] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-

A M [782] [775] stuffs, especially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A

M [784] piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura- [787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear 756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the 764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the [782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[596] [769]

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 796 [776] The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then [596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people 796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go 574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and 273 70), flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not 796 [184]

1. II, p. 222,

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten [273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night 526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth 796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--321 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 [643] [634] [622] [596] [184] Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs. Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or inherited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/ family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin, since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person [428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 622 628 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 596 622 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

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241 423 596 Through the labor performed on the land, it thereby passes into the possession of the head of the large /extended/ family. Every large family cultivates its land collectively; there is no distribution of the land among the individual small families of the family union. Just as a large family often cultivates several fields at the same time, it also frequently happens that several large families jointly cultivate only one large field. It depends on the number of individuals in a large family. If several large families, each with few members, jointly cultivate the soil, the land is divided into corresponding sections, each of which is tilled by one large family. Since the fields remain productive for only a short time, a later redistribution is unnecessary.

423 Wild fruits, plants, or trees belong to the person who collects or uses them.

422 [423] [596] Among the Meau only the house itself belongs to the head of the large family, whereas the furnishings are the joint property of all the occupants. This is true of the kitchen equipment, the domestic animals, saddles, bridles, and the like. On the other hand, clothing, weapons, and personal ornaments are the property of the individuals, who usually obtained these objects as gifts, for example, from the head of the large family or the partner of a love affair, and, in the case of children, from their parents, or they made them themselves, such as weapons, traps, and so forth. Similarly, the equipment that the wife has brought into the marriage, such as clothing and the dowry in general, remains her personal property.

[431]

The Meau have no special marks of ownership; hence such distinguishing marks are used neither on personal property nor on the domestic animals of the large family.

426 The legal conditions are definite for every form of loan, whether it is money, that is, silver, or field produce, animals, etc. that is involved. Loans are granted and handed over in the presence of three witnesses. No interest has to be paid for a loan up to one year; for a longer period, regardless of whether it is paid back in two years or in ten, interest has to be paid once, amounting to one-third of the value received. For example, if a person has borrowed 21 baskets of rice, 28 baskets are

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567 In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[734 ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597 creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435 children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family without his knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head, even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

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/243 cont./

A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. A [686] The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

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428 •596 [184] Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal conceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," [589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

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/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot inherit anything.

428 803 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For calculating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from any inheritance, although they retain what was already their personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

/246 cont./
428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.
Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal
heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.
[562] Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief
heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the
428 sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:
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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest
[597] male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

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M 428 [589] [596] [605] [622] [764] /247 cont./ case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations, the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 [596] Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female members of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A [562] [422] /248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits everything, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A [595] Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however, bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother outside the family.

A [752] [622] [572] [608]

/253 cont./
692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
596 court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in
[681] favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied
[626] his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can [492] carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

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415
824 Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

[343] House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize
[551] and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/317 cont./

A 415 For preparing the food, many kinds of carved wooden vessels and troughs of wood (Fig. 205) or bamboo (Fig. 206) are used. /Figs. 201-208 appear here./ /318/ Gourd dippers and bowls, wooden ladles, knives, rice baskets and other baskets, bamboo containers, and so on are not lacking anywhere.

A [312] The bamboo containers for fetching water (Fig. 207) are closed at the top and the bottom; the water is poured by means of a gourd dipper (Fig. 208) into a hole cut into the upper edge. In this way the water remains clean and cannot easily A [171] be spilled when carried. Many typical household and kitchen utensils are almost exactly like those of the Meau.

A 482 I did not see carrying frames among the Akha; they are replaced by carrying baskets with a shoulder board and forehead band (Fig. 374; see the chapter, "Handicrafts").

A 354 For lighting the house, iron lamps with oil as fuel, and [372] also pine chips, are used. The household equipment is especially rich in artistically plaited articles, such as are described 285 in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

As was pointed out, the dwellings and granaries of the A Akha give the impression of being clean and well tended. 356 The floor of the dwelling and the platform are swept twice a [412] day with the grass brooms that are also common among the [171] Meau (Fig. 175), with which one simply sends the sweepings [231] under the house through the seams and cracks. The food remains, too, are thus conveyed directly to the pigs and chickens.

/319/

Chapter 15

Clothing and Ornaments

M 294 The Meau women are very skilled in sewing and embroidery and, with much taste for color combinations, make the attrac- M 291 tive and also practical clothing for men, women, and children. The clothing of the Meau is absolutely uniform in cut and differs [248] only in the diversity of the embroidery and appliquéd designs. [596] Every family plants the required hemp and cotton and weaves its own cloth. The strips of fabric which are made into clothing [286] [294]

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
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2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning
[596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/
[782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible
[787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around
[314] them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally
[243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau
[343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1]
[417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of
[423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--568 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/425 cont./

439 [114] [326] [323] [184] These observations are especially interesting because I found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no knowledge of pottery!

The author continues his observations with a description of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] [294] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.